

Teaching adult-immigrant students in Chile: Critical discourse analysis on the teacher's voices

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<p>Abstract</p> <p>Due to a recent substantial influx of Haitian immigrants, the Chilean government has had to adjust and react with a variety of policy changes especially in educational programs, health services and housing. The purpose of this thesis was to carry out qualitative research using critical discourse analysis (CDA) to identify meanings behind the way Chilean teachers talked about their everyday experiences of teaching immigrant students from Haiti. I was interested in what are the meanings attached to these experiences and how the teachers perceive this new reality of working in a more diverse environment. The community of teachers that I interviewed individually work in an adult-education secondary school in Chile. I chose this topic for two main reasons. First, this is a new reality in my home country. The new diversity in terms of population is a recent phenomenon of no more than ten years. As a student of the Master Program in Intercultural Encounters, my interest in research about education for immigrant-related issues increased enormously. Second, adult education generally attracts less academic interest compared to other types of education, but in Chile it has also been neglected by the authorities. I was theoretically committed to produce knowledge from a critical perspective. My data was obtained through semi-structured interviews carried out in Chile between November and December 2019. To analyze the data, I used Teun A. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA. From my data, I identified four different meanings, namely, meaning of fulfillment, meaning of silence, meaning of resources and meaning of agency. These meanings were present in different ways in my data and I used them as a means to understand the way the teachers talked about their experiences. I argue that these four meanings best represent a clear relation between the three main elements of Van Dijk's "discourse-cognition-society triangle" and discourse.</p>			
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1. Introduction

Due to a recent substantial influx of Haitian immigrants, the Chilean government has had to adjust and react with a variety of policy changes especially in educational programs, health services and housing. Chile has not experienced such a significant increase in the arrival of immigrants whose mother-tongue is other than Spanish.

The aim of this research is to present a critical discourse analysis on the way teachers talk about their experiences working with adult Haitian immigrant students. I was interested in what are the meanings attached to these experiences and how the teachers perceive this new reality working in a more diverse environment. The community of teachers that I interviewed individually work in an adult-education secondary school in Chile. I aimed at analyzing the teachers' perspectives on this new reality working with Haitian immigrants and the strategies they used to challenge unequal power relations in their everyday activities. I developed the following research questions to shape the process of this qualitative research.

- 1) How do teachers describe their experiences working with immigrants and what meanings do they attach to their work?
- 2) How do teachers talk about the challenges they face in their daily work?
- 3) What meanings do teachers attach to race, discrimination and education?

I chose this topic for two main reasons. First, this is a new reality in my home country. The new diversity in terms of population is a recent phenomenon of no more than ten years. As a student of the Master Program in Intercultural Encounters, my interest in research about education for immigrant-related issues increased enormously. Second, adult education generally attracts less academic interest compared to other types of education, but in Chile it has also been neglected by the authorities. To better understand the purpose of this

research, I will briefly present background information about the recent immigration trends and the Chilean educational system.

Recent immigration trends in Chile

Chile, much like the rest of the world, has not escaped the processes of globalization and increased levels of immigration. According to the latest Chilean 2017 census, there are 746.465 immigrants living in Chile, forming 4,4% of the total population (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2018, p. 17). From the total amount of immigrants, 66,7% moved to Chile between 2010 and 2017 (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2018, p. 24). The census also showed that between 2010 and 2016, the biggest growth of immigrants occurred with the arrival of citizens from Colombia, Venezuela and Haiti (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2018, p. 24). The above can be explained by the political and economic crises suffered by the aforementioned three countries during the last decade. In the specific case of Haiti, the 2010 earthquake followed by an outbreak of cholera exponentially increased levels of extreme poverty. Indeed, Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the American continent and in the world. Moreover, this natural disaster showed the government's high levels of corruption and mismanagement. As a result, due to the unstable political and economic situation, many Haitian citizens have decided to emigrate to seek better living conditions and a better future. The last census showed that 12% of immigrants that arrived in Chile between 2010 and 2017 are from Haitian descent (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2018, p. 26). The aforementioned means that to date, 62.683 Haitian immigrants live in Chile, representing 8,4% of the immigrant population (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas 2018, p. 26).

This research was carried out in the city of San Felipe located in Valparaíso's central region. Agriculture is the main economic activity. In consequence, many of the students who attend the school where the interviews were carried out, work as harvest-seasonal agricultural workers picking up fruits from September to March in the areas surrounding the city. Fruits exported from this area include grapes, peaches, nectarines, avocados, oranges and lemons. Furthermore, as a small city of about 70.000 inhabitants, it is relatively easier for immigrants

to find jobs and services such as schooling, housing and health services compared to the neighboring capital city of Santiago.

Educational system

The current Chilean educational system consists of four levels of education: pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher education (OECD, 2017). Moreover, depending on their funding, educational organizations can be divided into three types, namely, municipal public schools, state subsidized private schools, and completely fee-paying private schools. This system was created under neoliberal economic policies left behind by Dictator Augusto Pinochet, in which the foundation of the educational system is regulated by the LOCE¹, an organic law that has proven to be very difficult to reform. As a consequence, Chile has “one of the most privatized educational systems in the world” (Wall 2011). More specifically, from primary to higher education, the state has diminished public investment to only 10 percent, leaving most of the cost of education to individuals.

According to OECD, Chilean public education spending relative to GDP is lower than the OECD average. As a result, Chile has one of the most unequal educational systems in the world, with a segregated society, where education is seen as a commodity. The privatization of education has had a big impact on the quality of public education and the social mobility levels, especially at the level of higher education (Torche 2015, Donoso 2013). Indeed, current president Sebastián Piñera has openly declared that “education and especially tertiary education is a consumer good that should be conceived as a personal investment that improves the prospects of the people who acquire it” (El Mercurio, 19th July 2011).

My interviewees work in a secondary public school for adult education that belongs to a small municipality located 60 km north of Chile’s capital, Santiago. This school provides secondary education to Chilean adult students and immigrant adult students that have not

¹ LOCE: “Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza” is the educational law signed by Augusto Pinochet hours before leaving office in March 1990. It legally reinforced privatization of educational institutions at primary, secondary and tertiary educational levels.

been able to obtain a secondary educational diploma from secondary education imparted during the day. At the moment, there are 55 teachers working at the school. This school provides secondary education which consists of two to four years of study. Students attend school in the evening. The teachers in this community work and live a reality of low salaries, lack of resources and overcrowded classrooms. Moreover, their students also experience a variety of social problems such as unemployment, discrimination and lack of linguistic and financial resources. As of December 2019, there were 664 students attending this school, of which 243 were from Haiti.

This thesis is structured as follows. In chapter 2, I present a literature review of teachers' discourses and critical discourse analysis. Next, I introduce the theoretical chapter that informed important concepts and theories related to this study. Then, I present the data and methods in the methodology chapter. In chapter 5, I reveal the data analysis results. Chapter 6 presents a self-reflection of the research process, discussion of the results, contributions of this study, a critical evaluation of this work and future research possibilities. Being committed to the critical approach to knowledge production, I will refer to my position as a researcher throughout the whole document.

2. Literature Review

In this chapter I present research on teachers' discourses applying Critical Discourse Analysis (Henceforth CDA). I will follow David Silverman's guide to a "dialogic literature review" (Silverman 2017, p. 462), which establishes a conversation with the reader through a discussion about already existing literature. I will also introduce some research from the discipline of applied linguistics which I consider to be connected to my own research and the chosen CDA method.

Regarding research focused on teachers' discourses, there are not so many studies carried out in Latin America from a critical discourse analysis perspective. To present studies that are closer to the context of my research, I have selected three examples of studies performed in South America, one from Colombia and two from Chile.

Critical discourse analysis on identity forming discourses has been carried out in Colombia. Alméciga and Yesid (2013) studied "discursive strategies" to examine problems of unequal power relations and uneven conditions in English language education. Their conclusions were elaborated on three categories, which the researchers named being bilingual, being successful and being Colombian. According to the authors, these were the discourses used by the Colombian government to protect a small group of privileged Colombians.

In the case of Chile, Riedemann and Stefoni (2015) carried out a study in which they found strategies of denial regarding racist situations faced by students from Haiti. The authors interviewed students and teachers in a public secondary institution located in the Capital region. The final objective of this research was to create a series of recommendations to overcome racist behavior towards immigrants of color. The researchers' purpose was to carry out an analysis on the construction of discourses expressed by teachers, Chilean students and Haitian students.

Muñoz et al. (2017) used Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional CDA model to research on teacher-student bonds. Data was gathered through focus groups and episodic teacher interviews from four secondary schools in Santiago de Chile. The conclusion from this

research showed that there are influential factors that determine the connection between teachers and students, namely, hierarchical educational institution, the oppressive educational model, and society. Furthermore, the authors argue that there were other factors such as current educational reforms and social movements that can also have an impact on teachers' discourses.

Unfortunately, most of the related research focused on teachers' perspectives has been carried out in the Global North, in countries such as Canada, the US, UK and the Nordic countries. Research performed in the Global South are indeed rarely published, if ever done. Hegemonic production of knowledge in the Global North contributes to lack of interest in the production of scientific knowledge from the Global South (Breidlid 2013, Collyer 2018, Lynch et al. 2017). Other factors such as linguistic differences, insufficient resources to train researchers and structural inequality in educational systems can also be considered as potential causes for this nonexistent or unpublished research. Despite interesting research results in studies in the Global North, studies conducted in the Global South are important because the context and social realities are different. In consequence, research on discourses from the Global South could provide other perspectives, which would eventually reflect in a more diverse knowledge production.

Research carried out in Spanish is mostly focused on teachers' discourses in the classroom (Ruiz et al. 2010, De la Cruz et al. 2000), discourses between teachers (Couso and Pintó 2009) and students and teachers' pedagogical discourses (Cubero 2005, Inostroza 2016). There is almost non-existent research of critical discourse analysis on teachers' experiences and perceptions about their work with immigrant adult-students.

Some interesting studies have been carried out in the Global North about the impact of racist and discriminatory discourses on teachers, students, parents and school communities. For example, Alexsaht-Snyder et al. (2012) reported on resistance to racist and discriminatory discourses in educational communities across the US. Harman and Varga-Dobai (2012) chose critical discourse analysis to research on the perceptions of Latina and Italian/Somali immigrant students and their teachers in the context of an English language

arts class. Graff (2010) analyzed oral and written educators' discourses to research the portrayal of immigrants in multicultural teaching literature.

In Australia, Price et al. (2012) reported on teacher resilience using critical discourse and labor process perspectives. According to the authors, teacher resilience should be evaluated and critically exposed to problematize teachers' struggles within neoliberal realities. Moreover, the authors argue that teacher resilience can impact teachers' work and identity.

A number of studies from the discipline of teacher education have used critical discourse analysis. For example, Victoria S. Haviland (2008) focused on teachers' discourse regarding issues of race, racism and white supremacy in the US. In her article "Things get glossed over: Rearticulating the silencing power of whiteness in Education", she carried out a one-year qualitative research utilizing discourse analysis, critical studies of Whiteness and feminist theory to analyze different strategies the teachers regularly used in their classrooms. These strategies allowed the teachers to "insulate themselves from implication in social inequality" (Haviland 2008, p. 40). Moreau et al. (2007) interviewed 44 female-teachers individually and critically analyzed their discourses on "glass ceilings", namely, the under-representation of women in managerial positions of educational institutions in the UK. Researchers identified teachers' discourses of individualization and personal choice that justify low numbers of women in directorial positions. Other additional discourses related to gender inequalities were also pointed out as potential reasons for the glass ceilings. In their article "From Ideal to Practice and Back Again: Beginning Teachers Teaching for Social Justice", Agarwal et al. (2010) discussed and elaborated on the experiences of three recently graduated teachers from a program of teacher education in the US. The researchers used a multi-case study method in which, through observations and a series of interviews, three teachers reflected on the struggles they face when trying to reconcile the curriculum and their aim to teach under the premises of social justice. In other words, the teachers critically discussed their concerns regarding the connection between curriculum and their intentions to educate for social justice. In this case, social justice was understood as "an umbrella term encompassing a large range of practices and perspectives" (Agarwal et al. 2010, p. 238), such as a critical, multicultural and antiracist education. The research presented a series of recommendations to be used by teachers and pedagogical schools to enact a curriculum

more suitable to recently graduate teachers who work in education for social justice. Finally, an empirical qualitative study was carried out in Sweden with pre-school teachers in a highly diverse Stockholm' neighborhood. Stier and Sandström (2018) analyzed the everyday challenges pre-school teachers face when following the Swedish curriculum versus the particularities of the different students' backgrounds. In this study, the authors, through focus-group interviews, concentrated on how the teachers described their experiences and what strategies they normally used to respect the curriculum and handle problematic situations when dealing with both, the students and their parents. Theoretically, they took elements from social psychology, intercultural education and intercultural studies to carry out their research. From research carried out under the discipline of education, I can observe that results share the interest of teaching for inclusiveness, integration and social justice. Moreover, globalization and massive movements of people around the world, make it even more important to research on teaching strategies and teachers' discourses to aim at achieving meaningful and social-inclusive education.

In the discipline of applied linguistics, research on teachers' perspectives focuses, for example, on identity construction and positioning. Indeed, Gee states that "identity is constructed, maintained, and negotiated to a significant extent through language and discourse (Gee, 1996; Maclure, 1993, summarized in Varghese et al. 2005, p. 23). In this regard, research on identity construction of language teachers have attracted significant attention. One of these studies was carried out by Julia Menard-Warwick who studied "gendered positioning" (2008) using discourse analysis in the context of a L2 English-classroom in the US. Conclusions revealed that language learning and social positioning are two intertwined processes in an L2 classroom which may have effects on "language socialization" (Menard-Warwick 2008, p. 267).

Another example of applied linguistics and teachers' identity construction is the research by Varghese et al. (2005) who theorized on language teacher identity construction by using three theoretical approaches. In their conclusion, they reported on how teachers' individual knowledge, experiences and social contexts shape and influence the way teachers construct their own identities as language teachers.

Finally, Nilsen et al. (2017) interviewed 12 Norwegian teachers to study the concept of “othering”. In this empirical study, researchers used critical discourse analysis to report on how teachers talked about cultural diversity. Conclusions stated that teachers should acquire linguistic awareness to avoid students’ social exclusion. In other words, teachers can aspire to teach for social justice by detecting and counterattacking abusive or discriminatory language in the classroom. Paugh et al. researched on recently graduated teachers’ talk applying critical discourse analysis and theories of “functional linguistics” (Paugh et al. 2011, p. 819). Researchers focused on the way the teachers talked about their students’ competences and struggles. Conclusions showed that discourses about “normative and deficit results” in students’ performance are still common. The authors invited teachers to critically review their strategies to better teach diverse students with different learning skills.

The aforementioned literature covers a diversity of research interests using different ways of applying discourse analysis. The literature also suggests that some topics of interest are analyses of pedagogical teachers’ discourses in the classroom and teachers’ discourses on collaboration among colleagues or between teachers and students. Identity construction and teaching for social justice are two important topics extensively covered. Moreover, additional factors that influence those discourses are discussed and revealed in many cases.

Another interesting aspect is the use of mixed methods to gather data. Many of the studies included in this review gathered data by carrying out interviews and focus groups. I concluded from these studies that in most of the cases mixed methods gave the researchers more space and flexibility to collect richer and comprehensive data. However, there is a lack of research on adult-educational communities, both from teacher and student perspectives. Much research aims at exploring communities in secondary and higher education.

To conclude, in the context of Chilean education and teachers’ discourses, CDA has not been used enough. Moreover, there is little – if at all – literature on adult education research in the context of immigrant students. I think it is important to study the way teachers construct their experiences by giving different meanings to them. It is a way of generating knowledge that can be used to improve educational processes of everyone involved, namely, teachers, students, school administrators and teaching training schools. In this

research, I focused on finding meanings behind the way teachers talk about their experiences working with immigrant students from Haiti.

3. Theoretical Framework

I carried out a qualitative research study, which allowed me to investigate how meanings and perceptions were expressed. In other words, my intention was to produce knowledge in which I subjectively extracted meanings from the way teachers talked about their everyday activities. Silverman states that one of the most important characteristics of any research, being either quantitative or qualitative, is that “methodologies and research questions are inevitably theoretically informed” (Silverman 2017, p. 133). In this regard, as a researcher, I needed to state from which theoretical point of view I see the world. Since I decided to look into meanings behind discourse, I chose discourse analysis which is sustained by theoretical assumptions based in social constructionism. In this chapter, I will first present distinguishing aspects of social constructionism, then I will introduce some definitions of discourse relevant to this research. Next, I will continue with different approaches to discourse analysis. Finally, I will refer to the origin and different perspectives of CDA.

Social constructionism emerged from French post-structuralist theory, as a reaction against Marxism and psychoanalysis (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 6). According to Leeds-Hurwitz (1995), social constructionism tries to comprehend the way knowledge and experiences are created and understood. Moreover, this way of approaching knowledge dismisses any theory that supports totalizing and universalizing theories. Social constructionism aims at “questions about how social realities are produced, assembled, and maintained. Rather than trying to get inside social reality, the constructionist impulse is to step back from that reality and describe how it is socially brought into being.” (2008b, Holstein & Gubrium cited in Silverman 2017, p. 137). The same authors highlight that one of the most important features of any constructionist-based research is that realities and facts are socially constructed in specific contexts. This characteristic is at the core of the constructionist thinking. In other words, social constructionism is a multidimensional approach that looks at how particular social realities are constructed. This theory “assumes that (1) humans rationalize their experience by creating a model of the social world and (2) language is the most essential tool through which they construct reality” (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009, p. 892).

To many scholars, discourse is a multifaceted concept that can be defined in multidimensional and dynamic ways. Indeed, there are different ways to define discourse depending on the discipline and the approach to analyze it. Michel Foucault, who is known for his structuralist perspective, defines discourse as “a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation” (Foucault 2002, p. 131). By following the Foucaultian tradition, researchers focus on historical influences on social systems that lead to knowledge and meaning production. Indeed, discourse has three different meanings: “1) sign and combination of signs, 2) portrays as phrases and sentences and lastly 3) discourse as a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are sentences” (Foucault, 2002, p. 131). Moreover, Foucault uses the terms text and discourse interchangeably.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) define discourse in relation to semiotics which consider elements of written and spoken communication together with nonverbal communication. Other aspects of discourse for them are facial expressions, gestures and other semiotic elements such as music and visual images (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). From this perspective, the connection between language, semiotic components and social practices is expressed in discourse. Ruth Wodak follows in the tradition of Fairclough and in consequence understands discourse as “linguistic social practices” (Wodak 2001, p. 66). She makes a distinction between discourse and text situating discourse within a combination of linguistic acts happening at the same time. In this regard, discourse is expressed “within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as texts” (Wodak 2001, p. 66). Finally, Teun A. Van Dijk, who theoretically supports a more socio-cognitive approach, defines discourse as “a communicative event, including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension of signification.” (Van Dijk cited in Wodak & Meyer 2001, p. 20). In this research, I will look at communicative events of interviewing teachers talking about their experiences. In the following methodology chapter, I will describe how I applied Van Dijk’s approach to discourse in more detail.

Under Van Dijk’ socio-cognitive approach to theory, analysis of discourse should first concentrate on the examination of language structures. These language formations allow us

to observe how discourse is constructed in a specific social context. Indeed, Van Dijk concedes extra significance to social realities as a factor that affects discourse. He argues that through discourse, it is possible to identify how discourse participants reveal their “social representations” (1981, Moscovici cited in Wodak & Meyer 2001, p. 21). In this way, researchers are able to understand shared-perceptions and meanings formed individually. In relation to text and discourse, Van Dijk establishes a direct relation between social contexts and the way the participants in any communicative event produce discourse. In other words, Van Dijk considers social contexts and participants as being two important aspects to focus when carrying out discourse analysis. In this regard, the formation of text and talk is influenced by how the discourse participants define important aspects of a communicative event or communicative situation which are expressed in discourse (Van Dijk, 2008).

3.1. Discourse analysis

There are several ways to define and conduct discourse analysis. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) divide it into three types of analysis, namely, Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory (1985), discursive psychology and Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (2002). Discourse theory focuses on the difficulties of discursive struggles and the achievement of a specific hegemony, which dominates the other realities. Under this type of analysis, discourse helps to mediate social situations and their never-ending meanings. Discursive psychology concentrates on the flexibility of people to use different discourses. Moreover, it analyzes the way people negotiate different representations of the world and their own identities. Critical discourse analysis is interested in the way discourse actively shapes the world by representing distinct power relations.

Another perspective of the study of discourse analysis is the social psychological approach. Scholars who follow this approach see discourse as an event that can have an effect on the members of a specific community and their ways of relating. In other words, “in using discourse, participants often rely on some of its properties to accomplish a specific social

action” (McKinlay & McVittie 2008, p. 8). For social psychology scholars, research on discourse focuses on mainly three types of traditions, namely critical discourse analysis, Foucauldian discourse tradition and discursive tradition. Under the Foucauldian tradition, discourse is shaped by historical and ideological factors. Specifically, historical factors have an effect of people’s use of language, and in consequence, in shaping and reflecting social and institutional identities. This approach has a strong support for social constructions and the way individuals reflect on their own realities. Discursive psychology is a more recent type of discourse analysis according to the social psychology approach. It emphasizes the importance of action-orientation aspects of discourse which have similarities with conversation analysis. It focuses on analysis of the way people talk about their psychological state that can be applied to different realities (McKinlay & McVittie 2008, p. 12-13).

Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1992) follow the tradition of social psychology by using the concept of interpretive repertoires to analyze discourses of racism. For them, discursive research falls under the Foucauldian tradition of historical and ideological aspects of discourse. In other words, discourses are institutionalized over time and are at the same time, established systems of communication. In their research, they prefer to use the concept of interpretive repertoire (Wetherell & Potter 1992, p. 89-93). For them, discourse analysis can be better understood using interpretive repertoire as the basic unit of analysis. “Repertoires can be seen as the building blocks speakers use for constructing of versions of actions, cognitive processes and other phenomena” (Wetherell & Potter 1988, p. 169). By using the social psychological approach to discourse, other concepts to be considered are functions, construction and variation.

Finally, a different perspective of carrying out discourse analysis is Carbaugh’s cultural discourse analysis approach (CuDA). Carbaugh centers his attention on the study of communication “ethnographically” (Carbaugh 2007). More specifically, under the umbrella of cultural discourse analysis, scholars should focus on “communication as a practice and culture as emergent in practices; special attention is given to interpreting the deeply meaningful commentary that is intelligible to participants as part of their ongoing social life” (Carbaugh 2007, p. 169). In this regard, cultural discourse, as a concept, is understood as a way to systematically arrange how culture is not only an essential aspect of discourses but

also a product of different discourse systems. Discourse analysis in this regard focuses mainly on how culture shapes communication, and on the ways in which people make sense (meta-communicate) about their everyday communication. It relies on social constructionism by centering on languages. It looks at discourse and how people communicate at each other using particular cultural discursive practices.

3.2. Definitions and history of CDA

In CDA there are different approaches that are influenced by different disciplines and different theories. Indeed, according to Michel Meyer, “there is no guiding theoretical viewpoint that is used consistently within CDA, nor do the CDA protagonists proceed consistently from the area of theory to the field of discourse and then back to theory” (Meyer 2001, p. 19). More specifically, different layers of sociological and socio-psychological theory might be present in any CDA study, from epistemology, general social theories, middle range theories, socio-psychological theories, discourse theories to linguistic theories. Theoretically speaking, I position my research as being closer to Van Dijk’s approach focusing on the links between knowledge, society and discourse. I will refer to the way I applied Van Dijk’s model later in this chapter.

According to many scholars, CDA concentrates on discourses about power, dominance and social inequalities. Indeed, Fairclough states that during the last decades “the abuses and contradictions of capitalist society which gave rise to critical theory have not diminished, nor have the characteristics of discursive practice within capitalist society which gave rise to critical discourse analysis” (Fairclough 1995, p. 16). This means that the common interest of CDA has never stopped being relevant, namely, trying to find meanings that uncover social inequalities, reproduction of social grievances and social structures, discrimination on race, gender and minorities. Moreover, CDA concentrates on institutional discourses as a way of reproducing social inequalities and injustices. “Power relations have an effect on CDA’s focus on domination and resistance that implies special interest for institutional and

organizational discourse, as for the discourse of members of communities and social groups” (Van Dijk 2015, p. 478).

According to a variety of scholars, such as Wodak (1999), Van Dijk (1995) and Jäger (2001), a more common aspect of CDA might be the type of research questions being formulated rather than the theoretical stance. Specifically, Meyer mentions Van Dijk as a scholar who aims at creating a system that studies how social reality is expressed in discourse (Meyer 2001). In other words, for Van Dijk, the real importance of theory as a set of concepts is related to a more socio-psychological approach to theory in which he emphasizes the importance of context and social representations to understand discourse constructions (Van Dijk, 2001).

In his approach, Van Dijk concentrates on discourses of resistance and oppression. He defines CDA as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality” (Van Dijk 2015, p. 466). Moreover, Van Dijk states that CDA can be seen even as a “social movement” due to the politically engaged scholars who carry out this type of discourse analysis. “CDA is a critical perspective on doing scholarship: it is so to speak, discourse analysis with an attitude” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 96).

CDA surged in the 1970s when language started to be seen as an aspect to consider in the structure of power relations in any social context. Until then, most linguistics research was carried out through the analysis of formal units of language (Wodak, 2001). Scholars such as Levinson (1983), Labov (1972) and Hymes (1972) focused on “speakers’ pragmatic and sociolinguistic competence, language variation, language change and the organization of interaction when communicating” (Wodak 2001, p. 5). Interpretive approaches gave some attention to context, although the influence of language in social structures and power was not the main topic of research for the above-mentioned linguistics specialists. The term critical linguistics (henceforward CL) emerged when a group of scholars from the University of East Anglia started to change the linguistic topics of interest to a more political approach

that analyze language as a social act that has an impact on societies (Wodak 2001, 4-6). Researchers such as Fowler, Fairclough and Van Dijk were among them. Kress, states some characteristics of CDA in his work. For him, CDA scholars should consider that “language is a social phenomenon; not only individuals, but also institutions and social groupings have specific meanings and values, that are expressed in language in systematic ways; texts are the relevant units of language in communication; readers/hearers are not passive recipients in their relationships to texts; there are similarities between the language of science and the language of institutions” (1989, Kress summarized in Wodak 2001, p. 6). Moreover, by studying media and political representation, Kress argues that “linguistic/social interactions” are constructed by subjects who draw upon their social histories to express these experiences in text (Kress 1989).

Following Kress’s work on CL and CDA, different approaches began to emerge, turning CDA to a dynamic and diverse approach among discourse analysts. Siegfried Jäger’s work is considered to be more in accordance with the concept of discourse in its structuralist view. However, by incorporating aspects of social theories, Jäger tries to “moderate the severeness of the Foucaultian structuralism” (Meyer 2001, p. 19). From his perspective, discourse analysis should aim at considering social realities inside the “discursive” (Meyer 2001, p. 20). In this way, discourse and object of discourse are determined by the social landscape.

Fairclough supports a more middle range and linguistic approach by specifically studying the relationships between semiotic aspects of language. His work concentrates on structure and action expressed in different representations of the world. Moreover, Fairclough establishes “a set of critical and descriptive goals in discourse analysis” (Fairclough 1995, p. 28) that should help to unravel particular ways of representing and structuring domination through discourse.

Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl are considered “the most linguistically oriented of the CDA scholars” (Meyer 2001, p. 21). Their research mainly tries to establish a theory of discourse which analyses texts under a discursive-historical approach that is “problem-oriented, not focused on specific linguistic items” (Wodak 2001, p. 69). Wodak has used her approach

mainly in the area of politics in which she has researched on discourses of nationalism, xenophobia and discrimination (Meyer 2001).

Lastly, for the purposes of this study, I have used Van Dijk multidisciplinary CDA approach (Van Dijk 2001, p. 97) that focuses on cognition and social aspects to analyze discourse. I will explain why I chose this approach in the following data and methods chapter.

4. Methodology: data and methods

I chose CDA as the method of analysis because I am committed to produce knowledge from a critical perspective. This means that I am interested in finding meanings behind discourses that aim at emancipation and resistance to unequal power relations and that reflect on social grievances and desires of social justice. For this reason, my approach to CDA gives room to teachers' voices expressed in communicative events of interviews.

4.1. Data collection

I will present the data collection of my research by using what David Silverman calls "a natural history of my research" which means that I intend to "be straightforward: spell out the (sometimes contingent) factors that made me choose to work with my particular data" (Silverman 2017, p. 475). The aforementioned for two main reasons. First, I would like to present a more personal description of the context of my research and second, it allows me to thoroughly report the difficulties and challenges that I encountered during this process. I will reflect on these challenges in the discussion chapter.

First, I became interested in the topic of immigration and education halfway through my first year as a student of the Master Program in Intercultural Encounters. This interest was also influenced by my professional background as a teacher and my personal experience as an immigrant in three different European countries, namely, The Netherlands, Denmark and Finland. Consequently, I decided to research on immigration in Chile and the processes of integration in the educational system.

While I was trying to find a community to carry out my research in Chile, I found an internship at the municipal education department (i.e., DAEM) in my hometown of San Felipe in Chile. Working at DAEM for three months was the perfect setting to gather my data. An acquaintance suggested a school in San Felipe where most Haitian adult-

immigrants currently attend. After I found the school, I sent an e-mail to the headmaster and he kindly authorized me to conduct observations and invite teachers to participate in my study.

Once I had my community of participants, I started to think about the methodology. The original idea was to use a mixed method consisting of observations and interviews. I wanted to familiarize myself with the context of research, so carrying out observations before the interviews would have provided me with more suitable information about the school, the teachers and the students.

I arrived in Chile in the middle of October. Just two days later, an unprecedented period of social unrest began on October 18th, 2019. This period consisted of three weeks of massive protests in which a big percentage of the population united against President Sebastián Piñera and the neoliberal policies that rule the country since 1990 when dictator Augusto Pinochet left power. This movement, also known as “Chile woke up” (New York Times, November 3rd, 2019), has pushed for drastic reforms to the current 1980’s Constitution and the neoliberal-driven society that perpetuates social inequalities in the whole society. As a consequence of this social upheaval, the country came to a stand-by that meant public offices, businesses and schools remained closed for more than two weeks.

Due to this ongoing social unrest, it became clear that there was a possibility of not being able to conduct observations before the start of the interviewing process. I first met the teachers in their weekly staff-meeting where I introduced myself. During that meeting, I explained the purpose of my research and I invited them to participate. I created a participation form that could be signed by the teachers willing to be participants in my research. After the meeting, ten teachers signed this form and gave me their phone number to agree on an interview time and place through WhatsApp.

At that same meeting, I learnt that the academic school year could be shortened for security reasons. Many schools and official institutions had been attacked during the social unrest period. As a consequence, I was able to conduct only one observation session with students and a teacher who participated in the study.

Ten teachers agreed to participate. They had between two and fifteen years of experience working as teachers. Some of them worked only in the public-school system, while others also worked in private institutions. All the participants worked in two or more schools at the same time.

The data was collected in a primarily white and mestizo public-school setting during nine semi-structured individual interviews. As any qualitative study, the purpose was to understand the participants' reality by asking open-ended questions from a small community of teachers, aiming "to gather an authentic understanding of people's experiences" (Silverman 2004, p. 20). The interviews were carried out in the school main building between November 9th and December 20th, 2019. I had to re-schedule some of the interviews because the school was closed due to major demonstrations taking place near the school facilities. One of the interviews could not be performed due to a national strike. Finally, I interviewed nine teachers, five males and four females.

I wrote an informed participant consent form in Spanish to thoroughly comply with research ethical requirements and guidelines from the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity. All the interviews were conducted in Spanish because it is the mother tongue of all the participants and me, the researcher. Before each interview, I explained to the participants that all the data gathered was anonymous and that both their names and opinions were confidential. I also explained that if they were feeling uncomfortable at any moment of the interview, not only they could stop their participation, but also the data would be deleted in their presence. I recorded the interviews using a tablet (i.e., iPad Mini). I listened and transcribed all the interviews. Finally, I translated to English the parts presented in this paper as examples.

The 9 interviews lasted between 20 and 68 minutes. The interviews started with a brief introduction, followed by structured and follow-up questions. In the end, I collected 285 minutes of interviews.

The interview structured questions were the following:

- 1) *¿Cómo describirías tu experiencia como Profesor en un Liceo con gran cantidad y diversidad de alumnos extranjeros, específicamente de Haití?*

Translation: How would you describe your experience as a teacher in a classroom with students from a diverse immigrant background, and specifically from Haiti?

- 2) *¿Cómo ha cambiado tu vida profesional con este cambio en la diversidad del Liceo? ¿Cuál es tu percepción?*

Translation: How has your professional life changed with this change in the diversity of the students from this school? What is your perception about it?

Most teachers interviewed talked about new teaching strategies. Therefore, I introduced this question about strategies when they mentioned them to understand what kind of strategies they were talking about.

- 3) *¿Qué estrategias usas?*

Translation: What strategies do you use?

- 4) *¿Estás familiarizado con educación sobre razas, etnias y diversidad?*

Translation: Are you familiar with education about race, ethnicity and diversity?

- 5) *¿Qué significado tiene para ti discriminación y racismo?*

Translation: What does discrimination and racism mean to you?

The most common follow-up question that I asked in four interviews, normally after the third question about strategies, was:

- 6) *¿Cómo piensas que ha cambiado tu experiencia profesional desde el momento que empezaste a usar todas esas estrategias nuevas para poder enseñar a alumnos extranjeros que no hablan español como primera lengua?*

Translation: How do you think your professional experience has changed from the moment you had to use new strategies to be able to teach these new students who do not speak Spanish as their first language?

I introduced this final structured question from the second interview onwards since most of my interviewees mentioned the social unrest situation we were experiencing. Since interviews always take place in a social, historical and political context, I felt I could not ignore the social circumstances that were affecting the whole country because it was being mentioned in almost all the interviews.

7) *Y con respecto a lo que esta pasando en Chile ahora y los inmigrantes haitianos y el movimiento de “Chile Despertó”, ¿cuál es tu percepción? ¿Cómo crees que este levantamiento social los afectará, ya que tu trabajas con inmigrantes todos los días?*

Translation: And regarding what is happening right now in Chile and the Haitian immigrants and the whole “Chile Woke Up” movement, what is your perception? How do you think that this social uprising is going to affect them, since you work with immigrants every day?

4.2. Analysis of the data

CDA requires that as a researcher, one has to be selective. According to CDA scholars, “there is no such thing as a complete discourse analysis” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 99). In this particular study, I could have focused on many different discourse structures and important units of analysis, namely, visual, paraverbal, syntactic, semantic to name a few. However, it was not realistic to think that such an analysis could be carried out with data from nine interviews. Even though these interviews were extremely beneficial, after I transcribed all the interviews, I decided that the analysis of my research was going to concentrate on only five interviews. These five interviews represent the entire valuable data. From this data, I analyzed the pieces of data that contain more diverse and deeper meanings closer to

produce knowledge from a critical point of view. Moreover, the interviewees from these five interviews were more eloquent and eager to reflect on their experiences.

Since my focus was to study a community of teachers, in which unequal power relations are experienced on daily basis, I chose CDA as a methodological approach to analyze my data. In this regard, I followed Horkheimer's view on the role of a critical theorist, namely, "the role of any critical theorist is that of articulating and helping to develop a latent class consciousness" (Horkheimer paraphrased in Wodak 2001 p. 9). In other words, my aim was both to find signs of resistance and emancipation expressed in the way teachers talk and to give them the opportunity to reflect and talk about their daily struggles. The latter also complies with another aspect of any critical study that should aim to "analyze and critique unjust social structures and perhaps offer a sense of restitution and emancipation (2011, Lincoln et al, cited in Manning & Kunkel 2014, p. 4). Particularly, I entered this research process with the assumption that there was a need for emancipation and resistance to unjust social structures. I wanted to discover what kind of meanings, related to social grievances I could find in this small community of teachers from the Global South. Finally, I wanted to give the teachers the opportunity to talk, reflect and be heard. With this purpose in mind, I chose Van Dijk's "discourse-cognition-society triangle" model (Van Dijk 2001, p. 95). This approach to CDA is multidisciplinary because it considers different disciplines and different levels of relevant language structures used in discourse. In the following section, I will proceed to explain this model in more detail.

4.3. Discourse, Cognition and Society

Van Dijk theoretical framework is described as a "socio-cognitive" discourse analysis method in which there is an emphasis on establishing a relation between discourse, cognition and society. To carry out such an analysis, it is important to first clarify how Van Dijk understands these three terms that are at the core of this "socio-cognitive interface of discourse" (Van Dijk 2001, p. 97). Discourse is defined as "a communicative event, including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension or signification" (Van Dijk 2001, p. 98). The second element of this approach is cognition which

includes social and individual knowledge. This concept is defined a set of “beliefs and goals as well as evaluations and emotions, and any other mental or memory structures, representations or processes involved in discourse and interaction” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 98). Finally, the last element is society which considers local and global systems of communication. For Van Dijk, to analyze discourse in any given social context, researchers should consider “the local, microstructures of situated face to face interactions, as well as the more global, societal and political structures variously defined in terms of groups, groups-relations (such as dominance and inequality), movements, institutions, organizations, social processes, political systems and more abstract properties of societies and cultures. (Van Dijk 2001, p. 98).

According to Van Dijk, these three concepts should be properly understood and applied to avoid falling into a “talk related to context” analysis (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 99). In my research, the units of analysis were extracted from the communicative events that occurred in the interviews. In those interviews, the teachers’ beliefs and social representations were expressed in discourse. Their way of talking allowed me to extract meanings that revealed both local and global societal structures of power. My aim was to deepen into this theoretical framework and find the proper utterances of meanings to be analyzed. In this regard, Van Dijk stresses that CDA is not a method that “can be simply applied in the study of social problems”. Specifically, cognition and society help to define important aspects of the context of discourse that can be local or global. Even though, according to Van Dijk, there is no such a thing as “an explicit theory of context” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 108), it is important to state that discourse is always informed by context either local or global. Local contexts can be established from interactions in which a discourse takes place, namely, interactions between the participants, the place where the communicative event takes place and the purpose of that communicative event. Moreover, global contexts refer to the historical, political and cultural aspects to consider when analyzing a communicative event that occurs in a given context (Van Dijk 2001). In other words, language users build a context model in their heads that is influenced in cognitive and social terms by their local and global context. From there, language users subjectively interpret social situations and communicate what is relevant to them. Van Dijk defines context models as “specific cases of the kind of personal, subjective mental models people construct of their many daily

experiences, from getting up in the morning to going to bed at night” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 109).

To carry out a research study of this kind, I had to first immerse myself in the social context of my community of study, namely the teachers that participated in the interviews. In this way, I intended to distinguish aspects of discourse that were being influenced by the cognitive and social dimensions. Put differently, I tried to identify the cognitive and social dimensions that informed their discourses.

Specifically, I took into consideration some language structures from which I could extract more meanings. I looked into words, phrases, sentences and semantic constructions that revealed the influence of cognition and local and social contexts in the way the teachers talked. These language structures should inform the theory behind CDA and at the same time, comply with the purpose of critically studying the reproduction of dominant discourses in specific contexts (Van Dijk, 2001).

On the first level of analysis my aim was to identify those “semantic macrostructures” (Van Dijk 2001). Semantic macrostructures of meaning can be extracted from topics that are basically “what the discourse is about”. For Van Dijk, topics are the part of any discourse from which it is easier to identify meanings that talk about social grievances. Topics help to explain “coherence” of the relation between talk and text. However, topics defined as “global meanings”, are not necessarily directly talked about or easily identified. Language users usually designate or deduce the topics in a specific discourse when talking. For Van Dijk, semantic macro-structures “provide a first, overall idea of what a discourse or a corpus of text is all about” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 102). Moreover, semantic macro-structures have the power to influence different aspects of discourse and its study. In this study, I identified the following semantic macro-structures that I called meanings of fulfillment, meanings of silence, meanings of resources and meanings of agency.

On the next level of analysis, I have detected what Van Dijk calls “local meanings”. Local meanings can be defined as “the selection of words, the structures of propositions, and coherence, and other relations between propositions” that speakers do through their

“mental models of events” or “their socially shared beliefs” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 103). Mental models can be related to, for example, the analysis of both the choice of words of a speaker when talking about a specific topic and the implications of using that word. At this level, I concentrated on finding what Van Dijk calls implicit or indirect meanings. In the results, examples of such meanings are, for example, indirect meanings of resistance to machismo and silencing of female immigrant students.

Another part of my CDA analysis was the identification of specific “event models”. These event models “form the basis for the production or understanding of a discourse, especially of its meaning” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 112). An event model is, for example, the way a participant in a communicative event, describes the recollection of a specific event. By doing so, there is a selection of language structures and meaningful moments expressed in discourse. Event models allow us to find the coherence in any communicative event. In this regard, language users communicate by expressing relevant beliefs, knowledge and opinions about a specific event.

In summary, in the analysis of my data, I first tried to find the semantic macro-structures of meanings, then I identified implicit and local meanings that showed how event models and context models informed the way teachers talk about their experiences. To carry out such an analysis, I focused on specific language structures from where it was possible to extract “their socially shared representations” (Van Dijk 2001). Through these representations, teachers were communicating shared attitudes, knowledge, beliefs and ideologies which are central to CDA in the pursuit for analysis of “discourses of power, domination and social inequality in groups, institutions and organizations” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 113). In the following research results chapter, I present what I considered to be a relevant CDA analysis of my data.

5. Research Results

In this chapter, I will present my own interpretation of Van Dijk' multidisciplinary approach. Therefore, I will describe four different relevant meanings found in my data. I argue that these meanings constitute the main semantic macrostructures identified in the teachers' discourses, namely, what the teachers' discourses were about. These meanings were produced in the communicative events occurred during the interviews. I state that these meanings best represent the relation between discourse, cognition and society as stated by Van Dijk and his socio-cognitive approach to CDA. These four meanings are fulfillment, silence, resources and agency.

5.1. Meaning of fulfillment

Meanings of fulfillment appeared in those instances when these teachers talked about how they perceive the opportunity of working with immigrant students. Their discourses portrayed meanings of contentment and a sense of achievement towards their work with immigrants. They feel proud and express satisfaction about their mission as teachers and in this way, teachers see their work as important and meaningful. In example 1, a female teacher talks about how she perceives her work with Haitian students when she answered the first interview question.

Example 1 (Interview no. 4):

Question 1: <i>¿Cómo describirías tu experiencia como profesor en un liceo con gran cantidad de diversidad de alumnos extranjeros, específicamente de Haití?</i>	How would you describe your experience as a teacher in a classroom with students from a diverse immigrant background, specifically from Haiti?
Answer: <i>"Yo me siento orgullosa de poder ser profesora de alumnos migrantes, me siento muy orgullosa de ellos y también del equipo de trabajo que tenemos, porque a pesar de que hay ciertas carencias de materiales o en el tema del vocabulario, se</i>	<i>"I am proud of being a teacher of migrant students, I am very proud of them and of our working team, because in spite of our material and language shortcomings, we get to consensus with the team".</i>

<i>llega a un consenso en el equipo de trabajo”.</i>	
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In this example the teacher was direct to answer the question. Her tone was emphatic, clear and there were no hesitations. She used the adjective “*orgullosa*” (proud) to refer to herself, her students and her colleagues. She also constructed her discourse by expressing a sense of achievement with the school’s working team, that despite a number of limitations, they have managed to organize and accomplish something meaningful and relevant. The teacher used the word “consensus”, which implies that the whole community agrees with the collective effort of teaching immigrant students under difficult circumstances.

In the following example, another teacher answered the same question by describing his experience as rewarding and valuable. He also gives extra importance to the migrant students’ rich cultural heritage that allows him to improve the learning process in his lessons.

Example 2 (Interview no. 3):

Question 1: <i>¿Cómo describirías tu experiencia como profesor en un liceo con gran cantidad de alumnos extranjeros, específicamente de Haití?</i>	How would you describe your experience as a teacher in a classroom with students from an immigrant background, specifically from Haiti?
Answer: <i>“A mi me parece una experiencia valiosísima, ví que había una capacidad intelectual en estos cursos, una realidad, un desafío profesional para mí en lo que respecta a generar aprendizaje significativo con todos y todas, entonces para mí, sigue siendo muy valioso encontrarme con una heterogeneidad con respecto a la nacionalidad, estudiantes de Haití y Venezuela que tienen un bagaje cultural muy rico para compartir”.</i>	“To me, this is a very valuable experience, I saw that there was an intellectual capacity in this group, a reality, a professional challenge with respect to generating a significant learning process with them, so for me, it is still very valuable to encounter a heterogeneity in terms of nationalities, Haitian and Venezuelan students have a very rich cultural heritage to share”.

In this example, there is an implicit or indirect meaning of positivity to both cultural diversity and immigrants’ contribution to society. The implicit meaning of positivity is emphasized by the use of the words “rich cultural heritage”. From this way of describing his experience, I

interpret that his mental model about immigration and indirectly, globalization is hopeful and in favor of immigrant students. By the use of the words “todos y todas”, I observe implicit or indirect meanings of gender inclusion as being important in the process of the immigrant students’ integration. This teacher sees value in diversity and gender inclusion in his classroom and indirectly in Chilean society.

In the following example, a male teacher answered a follow up question about how he perceived his role as a teacher of immigrant students.

Example 3 (Interview no. 6):

Question: <i>“Entonces, ¿Cuál es tu percepción sobre tu rol como profesor con lo que ha estado pasando aquí con ustedes en este colegio?”.</i>	So, what is your perception about your role as a teacher with what has been happening with you here at this school?
Answer: <i>“Creo que como docente nosotros tenemos un compromiso social, que recae en nosotros la responsabilidad que ellos adquieran ciertas competencias, más que la asignatura, más que las matemáticas, que ellos adquieran competencias para poder desenvolverse acá. Eso es lo que yo creo que es el compromiso con ellos, que comprendan, que entiendan sus derechos legales, por ejemplo”.</i>	“I think that we, as teachers, have a social commitment, it is our responsibility to make sure that they acquire certain competencies, more than the subject, more than math, they need to acquire the necessary skills to function here. This is what I think is our commitment with them, that they comprehend, understand their legal rights, for example.”

In this example, the teacher constructs his discourse as “we as teachers” have a social responsibility towards these students. He talks about a “social commitment” which suggests that he has a mental model of teachers having a responsibility as drivers of social change in the pursuit of social justice. In other words, for him, teachers have a transformative role which should resist inequalities. It is their role as teachers to help these students which can be understood as an indirect meaning of empowering the students. Indeed, the teacher constructs his mission as being responsible for not only teaching a specific subject, but also for teaching the students to become more aware of their rights, to learn that they also have rights both as students and as residents of Chile. The word “*competencias*” (competences)

explains the importance the teacher gives to his role as a more complete educator who also has a social mission.

Finally, in example 4, when we were talking about strategies and challenges encountered by the teachers, a male teacher answered a follow-up question to the third question about strategies.

Example 4 (Interview no. 6):

Question: <i>¿Piensas tu que el Ministerio de Educación debería apoyar más la educación de estudiantes inmigrantes adultos?</i>	Do you think that the Ministry of Education should give more support to adult-immigrant education?
Answer: <i>“Acá es todo autogestión, todo, del director y el equipo de trabajo, los profesores. Lo que tenemos se ha gestionado en base a proyectos y financiamiento, incluso los programas de estudios, los programas de estudio se hicieron porque nos ganamos un proyecto, fotocopidora, otro tipo de cosas. Todo se ha ganado en base a proyectos.”</i>	“All we have here is self-management, all of it, from the headmaster, our working team, the teachers. What we have here has been obtained by applying to projects and funding, even the study programs, the study programs were made because we obtained a project, a copier, other things. Everything has been gained based on projects.”

In this example, the teacher refers to the way this school has been able to face the challenge of teaching these students by their own means. He expressed this meaning of fulfillment as being the result of their effort and commitment towards students and their work as teachers. There is an implicit meaning of success and satisfaction. The sentence “*acá todo es autogestión*” (all we have here is self-management) is direct and reflects reassurance that the obtained results come from a collective effort of the school administrators and the teachers. This way of talking about this achievement is also related to the meaning of resources which is the third selected semantic macro-structure.

5.2. Meaning of silence

Discourses of silence can have different meanings depending on the type of communicative interaction and the social context (Jaworski 1992). In my data, I identified two different meanings related to silence. The first meaning was silencing others and the resistance to

this silencing which affects Haitian female students. In this regard, silencing can be understood as the act of stopping or undermining someone's opportunity to talk (Thiesmeyer 2003). In other words, silencing as a strategy, utilizes language to discourage or to restrict people's desires to talk or to publicly express their opinion. In my data, when reflecting on her perception of discrimination and racism, a female teacher talked about female Haitian students being mistreated and "silenced" by their male Haitian classmates. Specifically, the teacher talked about situations in which male students would mistreat female students or did not allow them to express their opinion. She emphasized the recollection of such situations by both, asking and answering herself a question.

Example 5 (Interview no. 4):

Question: <i>¿Qué significado tiene para ti discriminación y racismo?</i>	What does discrimination and racism mean to you?
<i>"¿Qué pasa cuando el haitiano trata mal a la haitiana dentro de la sala, o cuando la hace callar, porque en su opinión ella no puede dar la opinión? Uno como docente queda helado ante eso".</i>	<i>"What happens when a male-Haitian student treats badly a female Haitian student in the classroom or when he doesn't let her speak because according to him, she cannot give her opinion? One, as a teacher, is left frozen stiff by that situation".</i>

During this part of the interview, the teacher was reflecting on discrimination experienced by the Haitian students in general. Then, in the middle of her answer, she questioned and sounded upset about the lack of attention to this type of discrimination and vulnerability experienced by female Haitian students. In a way, I interpret this sentence as the teacher becoming aware of the double level of vulnerability of female Haitian students who not only are racialized and discriminated by the Chilean society but also suffer from mistreatment and silencing from their Haitian partners and classmates. Indeed, this teacher was the only one who talked about female Haitian students being silenced by their classmates. My interpretation is that this female teacher is more socially aware of the fact that female immigrant students are part of a disadvantaged minority group not only as women, but also as immigrants and black students. In this example, it is also possible to verify indirect

meanings of resistance to the silencing. I can explain this hidden meaning by using Van Dijk's "mental model" (Van Dijk 2001). He defines mental model of an event as "subjective representations of events or situations in which a person participates at a certain moment of time, at a certain place, with other participants (with variable identities and social roles), engaged in a specific action and with specific goals" (Van Dijk 2012, p. 588). According to the interviewee, female students on certain occasions, were not able to talk or express their opinions about particular issues. I argue that in this way of talking, the teacher's mental model of these events showed her resistance to women being silenced. She resists gender discrimination and attitudes considered "machistas". Van Dijk argues that the mental model exposes the speaker's belief about a specific issue. In other words, the teacher's mental model might show that she resists the local social context of machismo and mistreatment of female students. By using the sentence "*Uno como docente queda helado ante eso*" (One, as a teacher, is left frozen stiff by that situation), she emphasized that in these situations, she is left "helado" (frozen stiff). I interpret this as an expression of indirect meaning of discomfort and unpleasantness in which the teacher does not know how to react and is left without words, without visible reaction. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun "one" instead of "I". This is the way she talks, in other parts of her interview, this teacher also used the pronoun "one". I argue that first, it is the way she talks, and at the same time, it might be a way of emphasizing her mental model that, as a woman, she has been exposed to this type of situations several times. In consequence, the use of the pronoun "one" as "one as a woman" means that in this local and global context of machismo, a woman has to learn to deal with these situations regularly. I also explain this sentence as the teacher's eagerness to perceive and sometimes resist such "silencing" because she has lived in the context of a traditional and conservative society regarding gender roles. It is an implicit meaning that due to the "global context" of machismo in Latin America (Van Dijk 2009), she has suffered from "machista attitudes" her whole life. Her way of talking about such situations, reflects indirect meanings of resistance and emancipation against societal injustices and oppression towards women.

Next, I identified a second type of silence meaning that I interpret as self-silencing. Self-silencing has been recognized in previous research in the context of gender and ethnicity differences towards self-silencing. In this regard, Swim et al. (2010) define self-silencing as this internal conflict that we, as individuals, encounter when we want to say something about an issue, but we decide to remain silent. Furthermore, the same authors state that “silencing becomes self-silencing when individuals censure themselves” (Swim et al. 2010, p. 494). They argue that even though self-silencing seems to be a voluntary process, it works and exists in the context of a society that can punish in different ways for expressing opinions. In example 6, a female teacher constructed meanings of self-silence when she was answering interview question 5 about her perception of discrimination and racism against Haitian students. In the middle of her answer, she started to talk about how, sometimes, there were situations in which Chilean students were engaging in racist and discriminatory talk towards Haitian students, and according to this teacher, this was a recurring issue last year.

Example 6 (Interview no. 4):

<i>¿Qué significado tiene para ti discriminación y racismo?</i>	What does discrimination and racism mean to you?
<i>“Uno como docente trata de calmar los ánimos dentro de la sala, y específicamente, el tema del machismo y de la xenofobia... pero uno después ya sabe abordar esas cosas, yo igual el año pasado quedaba horrorizada con comentarios, pero me quedaba callada a veces por no causar conflicto.”</i>	“One, as a teacher, tries to calm things down in the classroom, and specifically, issues such as machismo and xenophobia...but after a while, one knows how to deal with those issues, I also was horrified by some comments last year, but sometimes I remained silent to not cause a conflict”.

In this example, I interpret the sentence “*me quedaba callada a veces por no causar conflicto*” (sometimes I remained silent to not cause a conflict), the meaning of self-silencing being influenced by gender. Indeed, self-silencing and gender are intertwined since some women, depending on the social context, may have a tendency to self-silence themselves to avoid confrontation even when it goes against their set of beliefs and values. Scholar Dane Jack states in her “self-silencing theory” (1991) that some women maintain “gender-related

beliefs” that refrain them from expressing their opinions in conflicting situations. She argues that “for women, gender roles provide a social context encouraging self-silencing. These roles indicate that relationship maintenance is paramount to one’s own needs and that women are to be deferential to others” (Jack 2012, p. 525). In other words, in the local social context of a school in Chile (Van Dijk 2001), where machismo and sexism are still present in everyday experiences, there is an implicit meaning of surrender to the global context of machismo in Chile. The teacher also uses the sentence “*por no causar conflicto*” (to not cause a conflict), which I interpret as her not wanting to start a confrontation, either with students or with other colleagues. Machismo is still prevalent at many institutions, which might be one of the reasons why this teacher consciously remained silent to not threaten the relationship with her colleagues or students. When she was making this comment during the interview, her tone denoted feelings of tiredness of these situations. There might be an implicit meaning of “this is a lost cause” and by speaking up, she is fighting a losing battle. Moreover, she used the word “*a veces*” (sometimes), which shows that on some occasions she indeed spoke up to counterattack racist or discriminatory talk. This could be another implicit meaning of ambivalence. Sometimes she speaks up and in other occasion she does not. This indirect meaning of ambivalence might be interpreted as an internal conflict in her mental model as to when to react to racist or unfair situations. Finally, by self-silencing herself, this teacher censures her resistance to machismo and racism. In other words, she accepts or surrenders to the global context of machismo and racism in the Chilean society.

5.3. Meaning of resources

The third semantic macro-structure is the meaning of resources. Furthermore, I identified three different ways in which this meaning appeared during the interviews. The first one refers to teachers not having the adequate teaching tools to work with immigrants whose mother tongue is not Spanish. The second type of resource meaning relates to inequality and distribution of resources in education. Finally, I identified the meaning of resource

when teachers talked about Haitian students' experiences of disadvantages, racism and discrimination in the classrooms and the Chilean society.

In example 7, a male teacher talked about the need of state support when he was answering the third question about strategies. Specifically, he talks about not having enough training to teach Spanish as a second language.

Example 7 (Interview no. 2):

Question: <i>Entonces, ¿Qué pasa con el apoyo a ustedes como profesores?, ¿Crees tu que necesitan más apoyo del estado?</i>	So, what happens with the support for the teachers? Do you think that the teachers need more state support?
Answer: <i>“Yo en mi caso, yo ya debería haber tenido un curso para, por ejemplo, la elaboración de material con textos de español como segunda lengua”.</i>	“In my case, I should have already had a course about, for example, elaborating materials to teach Spanish as a second language”.

The teacher constructs the meaning of resources by giving an example of what could be done, in his particular case, to improve the teaching and learning process. He thinks that the Ministry of Education should have provided the teachers with the necessary tools to carry out their job accordingly. In an ideal world, the requirement of being prepared to teach Spanish as a second language would be a reality. I interpret this example as the teacher indirectly expressing meanings of frustration and disappointment. It is a situation that escapes the teachers' control. These implicit meanings of frustration were expressed by many of the teachers at different moments during the interviews. In this interview, the teacher was talking about strategies and challenges of teaching immigrant students and how difficult it is to properly teach Spanish as a second language without being professionally prepared. His tone was somber and rather negative when talking about not having enough training and lack of state support. In the end, it is the social global context of lack of state support to public education that was expressed in discourse. I observed this meaning of resources and lack of state support in most of the interviews and it shows that in the context of Chilean public education, being a teacher in a public school is a difficult and

challenging task. In his mental model, to teach Spanish as a second language to Haitian adult students, he needs the necessary skills. Indeed, Spanish is the official language in Chile, and as such, learning and teaching are carried out mainly in Spanish. Pedagogy and teachers' training universities only prepare language teachers to teach Spanish as a mother tongue which means that, language teachers do not have the pedagogical basic tools to teach Spanish as a second language. In this example, I also identified an implicit meaning of complaint. This indirect or subtle meaning is according to Van Dijk "part of the mental model of the users of a text, but not of the text itself" (Van Dijk 2001, p. 104). In the context of a public school in which the majority of students are immigrants, the meaning of resources expressed in discourse can be understood in two ways. First, there is lack of teachers' training who are already working with immigrants and then there is a necessity of re-adjusting the curricula of pedagogical schools. For these two major tasks, the state needs to invest and give resources to education. However, the reality so far is that adult education is not a priority for the Ministry of Education regarding funding and teachers' training. Neither is teaching Spanish as a second language. Indeed, as I mentioned before, public spending in educational institutions is one of the lowest from the OECD. The meaning of resources also shows how involved the teachers are in their professional mission. By feeling frustrated and complaining about the lack of state support, they show that they believe in the importance of quality in public education and that they are fully committed to their job as educators.

Example 8 shows part of a female teacher's answer to a follow-up question about strategies. In this example, I observed again indirect meanings of frustration. The teacher feels that the Ministry of Education ignores the presence of Haitian students at adult-education level.

Example 8 (Interview no. 4):

Question: <i>¿Qué pasa por ejemplo con el tema del Creole, y...porque claramente acá en el Liceo es un tema, creo que acá tiene más de 200 alumnos?</i>	So, what happens with for example, Creole language, and...because clearly here at the school it's an issue, I think here at the school there are more than 200 students from Haiti, right?
Answer: <i>"Yo creo que acá el Ministerio de Educación tiene todavía invisibilizados a la mayoría de los alumnos haitianos que está en el sistema de educación de adultos y ... a</i>	"I think that the majority of the Haitian students in the system of adult education are still invisible to the eyes of the Ministry of Education...and us, the teachers, we

<i>los docentes, a nosotros, se nos debería capacitar, mínimo un curso anual, dos veces, o entregarnos un libro, un diccionario. Es lo básico. Yo creo que es lo mínimo que se debería hacer”.</i>	should get training, a course once or twice a year, or a book should be given to us, a dictionary. It is the basic thing to do. I think that it is the very least they (the Ministry of Education) should do.”
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In this example, a female teacher expresses the meaning of resources in two dimensions. First, she uses the word “invisible” (invisible). This invisibility is experienced by the whole educational community which means that the most important educational organization in the country is not acknowledging the educational needs of both students and teachers. In addition, this teacher experiences the shortage of pedagogical tools and materials that prevents her from doing her job accordingly. She sounded angry and extremely frustrated. Her response was emphatic. In her mental model, the teachers need to be provided with a minimum of preparation and material resources to do their job efficiently.

The second type of meaning resources can be seen in example 9 in which another male teacher, who also works in a private institution, reflects on the differences between public and private schools regarding school infrastructure. He also refers to underfunded public education and inadequate distribution of resources. In this example, the teacher was answering a follow up question about new strategies.

Example 9 (Interview no. 5):

Question: <i>¿Cuál es tu opinión acerca de la situación de ustedes acá en esta escuela y el apoyo del Estado?</i>	What is your opinion about the situation here at this school and the state support?
Answer: <i>“Yo creo que los recursos, a ver, en educación de adultos, son casi nulos. Uno, yo por ejemplo en el día, trabajo en el Instituto, y uno llega acá, y uno ve la sala, y hay un deterioro que es evidente, y ya ve que no hay, que no se pintó como corresponde esta sala, y eso también lo experimenta los alumnos del día. Es que en educación, hay una mala distribución en sí, y no es que no haya recursos, si el problema</i>	<i>“I think that the resources...let’s see...in education for adults are almost non-existent. For example, I work at the Institute (a private school) in the daytime, and I come here, and I look at this classroom, and there is an obvious deterioration, and you see that this classroom was not properly painted, and this reality is also experienced by the students during the daytime. The thing is that in education, there is poor distribution of resources... and it is not that there are no</i>

<i>es que se distribuyen mal los recursos mal en educación.”</i>	resources, the problem is that the resources are not distributed adequately.”
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In this example, I reflected on the teacher’s perspective regarding bad distribution of economic resources in education. By applying again Van Dijk’s concept of context model (2001) or the context defining this particular communicative event, I interpret that this teacher is complaining about not only insufficient state support but also bad distribution of the few resources given to public education. The teacher also talks about this situation of a poorly maintained classroom, which is the reality of the daytime students that attend this school. It is again the social context that appears in discourse. These teachers and their students experience different social realities depending on the attendance to a private or a public school. The teacher makes a comparison to emphasize the difference between private and public educational institutions. He constructs his discourse and the meaning of resource by attending to his experience as a teacher in both, a public and a private school. This comparison also helps us to understand the global context of education in Chile. Indeed, Chilean educational inequality has increased significantly, especially during the last forty years due to the neoliberal educational agenda that started to privatize schools and universities back in 1980. In Chile “privatization was primarily implemented during the period of the Pinochet military dictatorship between 1973 and 1989 as part of radical neoliberal restructuring” (1997, Roberts cited in Davis & Coleman 2001, p. 565). In consequence, the global context of educational inequality is a reality that affects the everyday experiences of these teachers enormously. This example was just one of many in which this social global context appeared in discourse.

The third example of the meaning of resources reinforces resistance towards an unsupportive state. In example 10, a male teacher answered the question about new strategies. The teacher reflects on the state’s unwillingness to give more financial resources to the training of teachers who work with immigrant students. More specifically, he

critiqued the lack of state assistance to improve the immigrants' opportunities in their new adopted country. He further continues by emphasizing that Haitian immigrants can help and have a positive impact in the country. In his mental model, immigration is seen as being positive, and if immigrant students were given the right tools, they could be a contribution, not a burden. In the end, he uses the word "second-class citizens" to emphasize the global context of systemic racism and discrimination towards immigrants. Unfortunately, Chile has not escaped this scenario. In consequence, the local context of many minorities and immigrant groups is such that they experience racist discrimination and abuse every day. In the end, this teacher is resisting the narrative of "second-class citizens" that is prevalent in the mental model of many Chilean citizens.

Example 10 (Interview no. 2):

Question: <i>Entonces, ¿Crees tu que hay una necesidad de más apoyo del Estado?</i>	Do you think that there is a need for more state support?
Answer: <i>"Yo creo que se necesitan más recursos del estado porque se esta tomando esto como que no se necesita de asistencia, se está tomando esto como que... bueno, ya ellos están aquí, bueno que trabajen. Pero creo que el estado debiese preparar para que el día de mañana ellos fuesen un aporte, no ciudadanos de segunda clase."</i>	"I think that there is a need for more state resources, because this has been taken as if there is no need for assistance. This has been taken as... well, since they are already here, let them work. But I think that the state should prepare them so that tomorrow, they can be a contribution, and not second-class citizens."

Within the logic of neoliberalism, the Chilean state has neglected the problematic situation of migrants at all levels, that is to say, housing, health coverage and education. This is specially the case of Haitian immigrants who do not possess the host language proficiency. They are in a clear position of disadvantage with respect to other Spanish-speaking migrants. In this regard, the way this teacher constructs his opinion on this reality shows that so far, Haitian immigrants are just seen as second-class citizens who do not need competencies to integrate as "contributing" citizens. In this regard, this teacher has a particular sense of citizenship, as someone who contributes or should contribute. This

emphasis of the word contribution could be explained by his mental model, in which a citizen has a duty to give back and contribute. Furthermore, the realities of inequality and lack of social justice can also be observed in this statement. Put differently, the social context in Chile is that of a country in which “the forces making for more inequality are rarely countered, partly because of weak political capacity and appetite for such a move” (Stewart 2016, p. 75). Indeed, inequality and racism are so prevalent and pervasive in the Chilean context, that there is no real political will to improve the realities of thousands of immigrants.

Finally, a female teacher answered a follow up-question about anti-racist education when we were discussing her perception about racism and discrimination towards Haitian students. In example 11, the teacher elaborated on lacking the necessary tools to deal with racism and discrimination in the classroom.

Example 11 (Interview 4):

Question: <i>Entonces, ¿Cuál es tu percepción? ¿Crees tu que es necesario tener educación anti-racista?</i>	So, what is your perception? Do you think that is there a need for anti-racist education?
Answer: <i>“Yo creo que debiese haber un curso que te permita trabajar con el racismo dentro de una sala”.</i>	“I think that there should be a course about how to deal with racism in the classroom”.

In this example, the teacher refers to the lack of pedagogical tools to deal with racist talk directed to the Haitian students. According to Van Dijk, racism is related to power, domination and knowledge inside elites, dominant groups and institutions (Van Dijk 2008). In the context of a classroom in this particular high school, Chilean students and teachers could be considered as the dominant group. For Van Dijk (2008), dominant groups might participate “directly or indirectly” in discriminatory or racist actions or discourse directed to minority groups. The teacher argues that as professionals in this context, they lack the necessary skills or competences to first stop racist or discriminatory talk, and second, to teach the Chilean students how to unlearn what Van Dijk calls “racist mental

representations” (Van Dijk 2008, p. 103). These mental representations are built inside our mental models and expressed later in discourse. In other words, the mental models of some members of the dominant group are expressed and reproduced in racist and discriminatory talk in this teacher classroom (Van Dijk 2008). I interpret this meaning of resource, as this teachers’ resistance to the racist mental representations expressed in her students’ racist talk. In her mental model, racism and discrimination do not have a place in the classroom.

5.4. Meaning of agency

Finally, in my data I observed the meaning of agency. I argue that this meaning was relevant because it reflects the local context of social unrest and how the teachers were talking about the potential effects of it on the Haitian students. In this research, to analyze the meaning of agency, I will refer to the concept of human agency which has been extensively studied by scholars from different disciplines such as philosophy, sociology and political sciences (Bleiker 2003, Burkitt 2016). Human agency can be defined as the power or ability of people to influence and change the social and political environment in which they live (Bleiker 2003). In the communicative events of my data, this meaning could be considered as a temporal or recent meaning behind discourse that most probably would not have been identified or discussed if the social upheaval had not occurred during my stay in Chile. Examples 12 and 13 were selected from the teachers’ answers to the last interview question about immigrants and this particular social unrest situation.

Example 12 (Interview no. 3):

Question: <i>Y con respecto a lo que está pasando en Chile ahora y los inmigrantes haitianos y el movimiento de “Chile Despertó”, ¿cuál es tu percepción? ¿Cómo crees que este levantamiento social los afectará, ya que tu trabajas con inmigrantes todos los días?</i>	And regarding what is happening right now in Chile and the Haitian immigrants and the whole “Chile Woke Up” movement, what is your perception? How do you think that this social uprising is going to affect them, since you work with immigrants every day?
Answer: <i>“Bueno, yo creo que efectivamente ellos están muy invisibilizados en general, y a raíz de lo que esta ocurriendo, en algún</i>	<i>“Well, I think that they are indeed very invisible, in general, and as a result of what is happening, at some point they were</i>

<i>momento ellos estaban siendo el chivo expiatorio para muchas de las cosas que el gobierno quería hacer en Chile, de hecho, en este estallido social, antes que ocurriera, en Chile había un gran debate respecto a políticas migratorias”.</i>	being the scapegoat for many of the things that the government wanted to do in Chile, in fact, before the beginning of this social unrest period, there was a great debate regarding immigration policies in Chile.”
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Example 13 (Interview no. 4):

Question: <i>Y con respecto a lo que está pasando en Chile ahora y los inmigrantes haitianos y el movimiento de “Chile Despertó”, ¿cuál es tu percepción? ¿Cómo crees que este levantamiento social los afectará, ya que tu trabajas con inmigrantes todos los días?</i>	And regarding what is happening right now in Chile and the Haitian immigrants and the whole “Chile Woke Up” movement, what is your perception? How do you think that this social uprising is going to affect them, since you work with immigrants every day?
Answer: <i>“Ellos tienen miedo y yo creo que lamentablemente que muy pocos inmigrantes van a tener voz política en los movimientos sociales, me gustaría, sería súper positivo, pero de aquí, no creo, este año por lo menos en esta revuelta social, no. Y si lo hacen, el gobierno va a hacer todo lo posible para poder devolverlos, o para meterlos presos o para desaparecerlos. Así de triste es el plano político que yo veo a nivel migrante.”</i>	“They are afraid and I think that unfortunately very few immigrants are going to have a political voice in the social movements, I would like to, it would be super positive, but... from here, I don't think, this year at least in this social revolt, no. And if they do, the government will do everything possible to return them, or to put them in jail or to make them disappear. That is how sad I see the political situation at the migrant level.

In examples 12 and 13, the teachers’ way of talking about the Haitian students’ role in the social movement is somber and hopeless. I interpret this meaning of agency on two levels. First it is related to how invisible to the eyes of the Chilean population the Haitian immigrants were when this period of protests was unfolding. The teachers considered that as social actors, the Haitian immigrants were invisible and almost non-existent. The female teacher in example 13 used the phrase “voz política” (political voice). I interpret this phrase as the teachers’ belief that Haitian immigrants do not have the agency to be heard, to be involved and to have an influence in this particular social movement. The teachers see them as being “invisible” to the general Chilean population and their social demands. There is an implicit meaning of separation of two different realities that are being exacerbated by the

social movement. Two groups, Chileans and immigrants that are experiencing the social unrest period at the same time, but with two different levels of involvement, or the two realities of what Van Dijk calls dominant and dominated groups (Van Dijk 1993). Secondly, the meaning of agency explains the pessimistic point of view regarding the immigrants' future in the country. Though the social demands directly affect the immigrants, they do not possess the agency to participate and make a difference. Put differently, the teachers do not see an auspicious future in relation to both, the Haitian immigrants' participation in the social movement and the improvement in their quality of life. Regarding the influence of the global context in discourse, teachers' somber way of talking about the immigrants' future and the social outbreak is a reflection of the social global and local context in Chile regarding immigration. Another way to interpret the meaning of agency relates to the teachers' resistance to the mental models of people who see immigration as a threat. In the global social context of Chile, the anti-immigrant and racist sentiment is structural and institutional and directly or indirectly linked to President Sebastián Piñera's right-wing government. This sentiment has an effect on the way the interviewees constructed the meaning of immigrants not having human agency. In this regard, I interpret the use of the word "asustados" (afraid) and the sentence "*el gobierno va a hacer todo lo posible para poder devolverlos, o para meterlos presos o para desaparecerlos*" (the government will do everything possible to return them, or to put them in jail or to make them disappear) as an implicit meaning of distrust and suspicion towards the government. In other words, the social context of racism and anti-immigration sentiments is so powerful, that in her way of talking, this teacher suspects that the government would oppose and punish any immigrants' involvement in the movement. This teacher believes that if the Haitian immigrants got involved in the protest or the social demands, the government would retaliate by punishing them severely. I understand this way of talking as a justification for the meaning of human agency and the no participation of Haitian immigrants in the movement. In summary, in this social context, Haitian immigrants are portrayed as lacking the agency and in consequence, the power to have an impact on the social movement.

6. Discussion

This chapter is divided into five parts. First, I will present a discussion of the results in which I include the contribution of this research. Next, I will critically evaluate my research journey in relation to the research questions and the chosen theoretical and analysis approaches. Finally, I will introduce ideas for future research.

6.1. Discussion of the results and research contribution

Next, I will summarize the research results by returning to the research questions, namely:

- 1) How do teachers describe their experiences of working with immigrants and what meanings do they attach to their work?
- 2) How do teachers talk about the challenges they face in their daily work?
- 3) What meanings do teachers attach to race, discrimination and education?

From my data, I identified four different meanings, namely, meaning of fulfillment, meaning of silence, meaning of resources and meaning of agency. All these meanings were present in the results of my data in different ways of talking and I have used them as a means to understand the way the teachers talked about their experiences. I argue that these meanings best represent a clear relation between the three main elements of Van Dijk “discourse-cognition-society triangle” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 97). In other words, the way teachers talked about their experiences, reflects their knowledge and set of attitudes, beliefs and values as a collective group of teachers. Through these meanings, I was able to interpret and find the teachers’ social representations that according to Van Dijk, are normally shared by institutions, groups and organizations (2001). Furthermore, the social representations shown in discourse, are expressions of the subjects’ mental models, event models and indirect or implicit meanings. Moreover, I argue that the four identified meanings are strongly related to the third element of the triangle, that is society. In this regard, with the help of these four meanings, it is possible to better understand the social global context and the local educational context. I state that these results are in line with

what CDA is about, namely, “CDA may be interested in macro notions such as power and domination, but their actual study takes place at the micro level of discourse and social practices” (Van Dijk 2001, p. 115). By studying this small community of teachers and their way of talking, I have been able to observe how social realities and power can be intertwined and expressed in discourse. As I stated in the literature review chapter, research on teachers’ discourses in the context of an adult educational institution in Chile is not common, let alone research on teachers’ discourses working with immigrant students. I believe that this lack of interest in research in adult-education in Chile, reinforces the fact that the knowledge produced in this research is all the more valuable and necessary.

To discuss my findings, I argue that it is important to look at them from a broader perspective, which will allow me to relate my findings to the bigger social context of the teachers’ community. In this regard, my data mirrors the bigger social context of education in Chile. This context is the third element in Van Dijk triangular approach to discourse, that is to say, society. The way the teachers talked about their daily experiences corresponds to a social context that historically has neglected teachers and the public educational system. Their discourses mirrored meanings of struggles against discrimination, deprivations and unappreciation. This way of talking was prevalent in all the interviews. The lack of official support that is expressed in low salaries, poor working conditions, and insufficient professional training is a reality that all educators in Chile have encountered from the moment they decided to become teachers. In an extremely capitalist society, to be a teacher in a public educational setting means to be willing to experience long-working hours, overcrowded classrooms and segregated schools (Reyes et al. 2010). Indeed, while still living in Chile, I was asked many times about my reasons to become a teacher knowing the hardships I was about to endure. My interviewees constructed their discourses by pondering on their everyday struggles, which also shows how motivated, self-sacrificing and critical they are as professionals.

An exceptional interviewee was the female teacher from interview four. She talked about different ways of oppressions and her discursive practices showed, at the same time, her different societal roles both as a teacher and as a woman. Through her ways of constructing discourse, I was able to extract not only implicit meanings but also, “larger social acts and

processes" (Van Dijk 2001, p. 117). To further examine the silence discourse, I will look at it from the perspective of intersectionality. Kimberlé W. Crenshaw introduced the term in 1991, which comes from black feminism and critical race theory. Devon et al., argue that "intersectionality is a method and a disposition, a heuristic and analytic tool" (Devon et al. 2013, p. 303). As such, intersectionality provides a bigger and more complete picture from where we can study social stories, in this case, the connected oppressions suffered by the female Haitian students. Indeed, female Haitian students in Chile, as members of an immigrant and disadvantaged community, are more vulnerable to not only discrimination, racism, classism and sexism, but also to abuse and sexual violence from their male partners. In other words, to look at the experiences of female Haitian students expressed in discourse by the female teacher from an intersectional point of view, we can "simultaneously attend to processes of ethnicity, gender, class and so on in order to grasp the complexities of the social world and the multifaceted nature of social identities and advantage/disadvantage" (Anthias 2012, p. 106).

Another aspect worth mentioning from the results, is that even though the interviews were conducted individually, their way of talking was very similar. This would be understood under the premises of the teachers having an institutional discourse, what Van Dijk describes as discourses "within institutional frameworks such as parliaments, schools, families, or research institutes". Moreover, they all praised the team-effort repeatedly, they all talked about teamwork and colleagues being in consensus and cooperative towards the collective goal. This shows how unique, supportive and remarkable this community of teachers is.

Finally, regarding my research results as a whole, I will contrast them with Riedemann and Stefoni's results (2015). Their main findings refer to discourses of denial of discriminatory and racist attitudes towards Haitian students in the setting of a secondary school in the Capital Region. In this regard, their findings contradict the type of discourses that I identified as the most socially relevant in my data. The teachers who participated in my study, were very critical and aware at all times of racist and discriminatory situations lived by the students. They used phrases and words as "racism in class", "second-class citizens", "discrimination" in several occasions, which reaffirms how critical their mental models were

and how they were expressed in discourse. These results indeed show that the social context and the current situation in Chile at the moment of gathering the data had a great impact in the way the participants' knowledge, belief and attitudes were expressed in the communicative events.

6.2. Critical Evaluation

To critically evaluate my research, I again follow David Silverman by using his "quality criteria for assessing research quality" (Silverman 2017, p. 406). This set of considerations which include methodological, theoretical and practical aspects, will provide me a broader perspective to critically evaluate the whole process.

Regarding methodological and practical aspects of my research, I would first have collected my data using observations together with interviews. The observations would have allowed me to both, have a more comprehensive view from the school community and at the same time, a more gradual introduction to the everyday activities of teachers and students. In an ideal situation, observations together with interviews would have been the chosen way to gather data. However, in practical terms and, as I mentioned in the data and methods chapter, due to reasons that escaped my control, observations were not possible. The impact of not having the observation in my results, can be understood as only having one perspective, namely the teachers' perspective. I could not get my own perspective of the observations. Furthermore, the environment of social unrest and protests probably influenced my role as an interviewer. Being in Chile at those times, when I was trying to collect my research data, was a stressful situation, which meant that many times the interviews had to be re-scheduled and, on one occasion, cancelled.

In theoretical terms, my position as a researcher is influenced by the interaction of different identities, that is, Chilean and Finnish, teacher, an immigrant in three European countries, an outsider in my country of birth after having lived in Europe for almost 20 years. There is no doubt that these different identities have influenced every step of this investigation,

from the moment I chose the research topic until I finished writing the last word. This is even more visible in the theoretical choices I made. Such theoretical decisions are reflected on the results of this qualitative study with critical perspective. In that respect, I emphasize again that my intention was to carry out research in which I wanted to produce knowledge from a critical perspective. For that purpose, CDA was an approach that suited the objectives of this study and the point of view from where I wanted to look at my data.

Lastly, my role as an interviewer and researcher has had an impact in the final results. In other words, I subjectively influenced both, the interviews and the results of this work. At the same time, I would like to think that my interviewees answered honestly all the questions when referring to their experiences and perceptions. However, they might have kept something unsaid or they answered by saying something that they thought I wanted to hear. Finally, the interviewed teachers trusted me by agreeing to participate and believed in that, as a researcher, I will respect the confidentiality agreement by following ethical research guidelines. These ethical directions were followed during the whole process of this study.

To conclude the critical evaluation of my thesis, I argue that Van Dijk's triangular method of CDA was instrumental in guiding me through the process of data analysis. It was not only helpful and clarifying, but also realistically possible since the very beginning because I was able to choose concepts that allowed me to focus on short passages of discourse. By following his lead, I decided to not only focus on five interviews, but also select key parts of Van Dijk' approach to CDA analysis that I considered to be more doable in my analysis.

To carry out a brief self-reflection about my research, I will use the same "Silverman's natural history of my research approach" (Silverman 2017, p. 475). Before travelling to Chile, I had some worries about my interviewees and how they could have affected my results. Specifically, I had some pre-assumptions and prejudices regarding the way teachers would talk about their experiences. The two main assumptions were that first, they would not be aware of, negate or undermine experiences of racism or discrimination suffered by

their students and second, they would not be too critical of the neo-liberal educational approach experienced for forty years. I left Chile in 2003 when the situation was very different. Chile was still living in a quite content “successful” democracy state after sixteen years of dictatorship under Pinochet. The social landscape was still calm and there were rarely any complaints about the educational system and, in consequence, about the whole neo-liberal economy. Indeed, I was already living in the Netherlands when some stronger criticism surged in 2006 due to the “Penguin Revolution”. This social movement, also known as “revolución pingüina”, called after the students’ black-and-white uniforms, was led by secondary students who occupied and shut down thousands of secondary public schools and later universities in response to privatization and high costs of education. Indeed, it was the first time that the market model was being openly and massively questioned. After several weeks of protests, however, the unswerving commitment of the Pingüinos (penguins) forced a substantial discussion of the education system (Donoso 2013, p. 2). I had moved to Europe three years before, so the image I had of the social context when I moved out of the country was a very different story.

Once I started to conduct the interviews, I was surprised and astonished of how critical the teachers were regarding their experiences and the situation in public educational institutions. Moreover, because most of the interviewed teachers also worked in private institutions, they knew the differences between public and private schools regarding infrastructure, economic and pedagogical resources, funding for professional training and social and minority ethnic students’ backgrounds. They were indeed very vocal about how they viewed their mission as teachers. They also expressed disagreement with the market approach to education. Another important way of talking was related to the sense of achievement and professional fulfillment. In most of the interviews, they talked about “the school re-invention” (the original expression in brackets) as a school for immigrant students. Praise sentiments were expressed by several interviewees regarding the headmaster and other colleagues for being able to self-manage and adapt to this sudden new situation without much support from the Ministry of Education. To conclude my self-reflection, I was not expecting this kind of responses from my interviewees. I thought that they were going to be much more complacent with the educational system and not so critical towards their social context. In summary, even though my data and results are only representative of a

small community of teachers working in an adult education school, I see that my interviewees responded consistently relating their discourses to the current social education context. This means that, even though the results surprised me, the research questions were well aligned with what I intended to study in the first place.

6.3. Future research ideas

In this part of the chapter, I will refer to some implications and possible uses of this research that could eventually be applied in policies and practices.

Teachers' voices are not normally heard in Chile. This may sound ironic, but the reality is that even though teachers' voices are heard by Chilean students in their classroom, their everyday struggles are not normally taken into consideration when dealing with the creation of public policies about teachers' and student's needs. In other words, teachers' labor union or teachers' organizations are rarely part of the decision-making processes, even though these decisions directly affect them. These decisions are taken by technocrats, namely, economists, engineers, lawyers, but not teachers. This research could help start a discussion about the importance of being heard, as an institution. Furthermore, the needs of adult education are different from the needs of primary and secondary education. To have a real impact on an improvement in this type of education, teachers need to be heard because their voices and knowledge are instrumental to improve both quality of education and the well-being of teachers and students.

Regarding budget and resources, most of the few available public educational funding goes towards primary and secondary education, not towards adult-education. This work could also help to attract more attention to the needs of adult-education. To make more visible both their work and their daily needs. Moreover, it could also help to spread the word of what they are doing and serve as a model to be replicated in other educational institutions.

In relation to research, there is a lack of research about teachers' discourses in Chile. There is almost non-existent research at the level of adult education. This work could also spark some research interest in talking to teachers and to explore their perceptions about the social context they encounter daily. I believe that researching more on teachers' discourses, could make a difference in practical ways of improving education.

Finally, I will introduce ideas for future research that might be possible to follow from my research results, methods or concepts. My original idea was to interview teachers and Haitian students in this school, so that I would be able to have the whole picture, namely, teachers and students' voices. However, due to the social uprising, I was only able to talk to one student. As future research, it would be interesting to research what type of discourses Haitian Students construct in relation to their experiences as immigrants and students. Furthermore, it would be interesting to research discourses on identity construction, both in the case of teachers and students in this social context. From a teachers' perspective, such research would allow to explore how different identities, namely social, political and professional, affect the way they do their job. In this regard, Gee argues that identity construction is related to the availability of discourses, which means that those discourses can also be modified and reinforced (Gee 1999, p. 13). Furthermore, identity construction could be explored in relation to discourses of resistance to racist behavior and racist talk. Following in the footsteps of Harman and Varga-Dobai (2012), it would be interesting to study identity construction and discourses of resistance of both teachers and students.

Another future study could be to explore more profoundly the discrimination of female students from the perspective of intersectionality and taking into consideration contemporary migration theories. Even though I analyzed the silence discourse taking intersectionality as the main perspective, I argue that there are many aspects of intersectionality and gender that can still be compelling to research in this context.

CDA as a method of analysis, could be used to research on other communities of teachers, such as primary and secondary teachers who teach Haitian students. In such case, it would also be possible to consider the students' parents as potential participants. In this way, it

would be possible to critically problematize the experiences of other members of the educational community.

Lastly, it would be interesting to explore another CDA perspective as a method of analysis such as Ron Scollon's mediated discourse analysis (2001), which is a rather different way of analyzing discourses under the CDA umbrella. He uses a micro-sociologist approach called mediated discourse analysis (MDA). Its main focus is the study of social actions that are performed by social actors. MDA's main purpose is to analyze the relation between discourses and actions. "MDA shares the goals of CDA, but strategizes to reformulate the object of study from a focus on the discourses of social issues to a focus on the social actions through which social actions produce the histories and habitus of their daily lives, which is the ground in which society is produced and reproduced" (Scollon 2001, p. 140). This means that the main focus would be the actions of teachers, students and other members of the school community as social actors.

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to identify meanings behind discourse obtained from the way teachers talked about their everyday experiences of teaching to immigrant students from Haiti. The four meanings or semantic macrostructures identified, namely fulfillment, silence, resources and agency reflected the relation between cognition, discourse and society, which are the basis of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA. As such, I focused on analyzing the data obtained through semi-structured interviews carried out in Chile between November and December 2019. During these interviews, the small community of teachers who worked in a public adult-secondary school in Chile, were able to reflect and construct their emancipatory and critical views about their experiences and everyday struggles. Indeed, one main objective of CDA is to "produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection" (Wodak 2009, p. 7). In other words, I argue that the main contribution of this research is to produce critical knowledge about discursive practices and their relations with talk, society, and social cognition (Van Dijk 1993) in the social context of this educational community in Chile. Specifically, from the way the teachers talked, I used Van Dijk' concepts to identify indirect meanings, mental models, event models and social representations from where it was possible to select the most socially relevant meaning behind the teachers' discourses. The meanings attached to their discursive practices reflect social grievances and inequalities suffered by both, teachers and students in this public-school setting. As a consequence, the discursive practices of my interviewees mirror the social global context of a country in which neoliberal policies are imposed by the state at all levels of society. I found implicit meanings of social commitment and responsibility towards both, their mission as teachers and their students.

I conclude this research with a recommendation that aligns well with Agarwal et al. (2010) and their research results. I claim that the importance of teachers as a force of social change should be acknowledged and recognized. In the case of the community of teachers interviewed in my data, they are willing to take the responsibility for overcoming social inequalities prevalent in the Chilean educational system that affect the teachers and the

immigrant students. They are just asking for proper tools to develop their work. In the end, to improve these teachers' everyday experiences, their voices should be heard and considered when making decisions that directly concern them. I will always be grateful for their selfless collaboration and their willingness to contribute to this research.

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